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Should socialism prevail?

New York

1916

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Should Socialism Prevail

A DEBATE BETWEEN

AFFIRMATIVE

Professor Scott Nearing
Mr. Morris Hillquit

NEGATIVE

Rev. Dr. John L. Belford
Prof. Frederick M. Davenport

PUBLISHED BY

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AND
New York Call**

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40 West 19th Street New York

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A DEBATE

HELD OCTOBER 21, 1915

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

Under the Auspices of

THE BROOKLYN INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.

SUBJECT:—Resolved, that Socialism ought to prevail in the United States.

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New York City

Introductory Note

On the 21st of October, 1915, there was held under the auspices of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences a debate on the subject: "Resolved: that Socialism ought to prevail in the United States." The Institute had under way the inauguration of a Public Forum for the discussion of important matters of public interest. The Department of Political Science and Sociology had been holding lectures on various subjects, and it was felt that the debate would be an auspicious opening for the Forum.

The Institute, which is an organization for the enlightenment of its many thousands of members on a variety of subjects, has its headquarters in the Academy of Music. In small lecture rooms, readings, lectures on literary and scientific subjects, and small musicals, are held throughout the year. The debate on Socialism was to have been held in one of the smaller rooms, but shortly before the opening of the discussion, the great theater in which the Metropolitan Opera Company gives its weekly performances had to be requisitioned into service. A half hour before the opening of the debate, the great hall was packed, and thousands were turned away for lack of room.

There never was more intense interest in the discussion of an academic subject than there was that day. It may be that the prominence of the speakers drew the vast crowd to the Academy. It may be that the fact that a man who had just been deposed as a teacher in a great University for expressing views that grated on the nerves of the reactionary trustees was to be one of the debaters brought the multitude. It may be that the interest in Socialism was so genuine that the crowds thronged Lafayette Avenue and tried to jam their way in.

Probably a combination of all these was the reason for the success of the debate. Certain it is that the vast audience was thrilled by one of the most electric discussions that was ever

JAN 30 1947 PCR

heard in conservative old Brooklyn. That the audience was partial was shown by the applause that the speakers received when their names were mentioned. Nearing's name was cheered; Hillquits received its meed; Davenport's was greeted warmly. But when the name of Dr. Belford was mentioned, the wild and tumultuous cheering well-nigh lifted the roof.

It is a known fact that in many churches, the parishioners were told to attend this debate and cheer their champion. And this makes it all the more significant that at the end of the evening, the crowd was laughing derisively at Belford's break about the "foreigners" in the Socialist Party, and were cheering Hillquit's keen thrusts.

The Editor wishes to express his thanks to the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences for their courtesy in assisting in compiling these notes, as well as to the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, for the use of two of the pictures herewith reproduced.

WILLIAM MORRIS FEIGENBAUM.

The Debaters

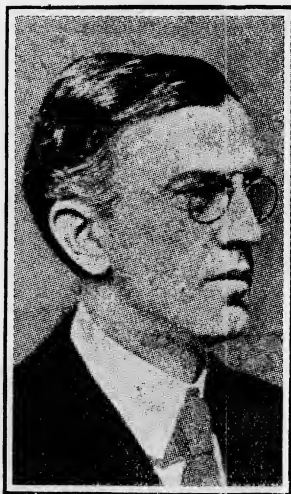
No more representative debaters could have been chosen than the four men who upheld and opposed Socialism that night. Scott Nearing, discharged from his Pennsylvania berth because of his radicalism; and Morris Hillquit, National Chairman of the Socialist



REV. JOHN L. BELFORD
NOTED FROM
(Courtesy Brooklyn Eagle)

Party of the United States upheld Socialism. Frederick M. Davenport, late Progressive candidate for Governor of New York,

a representative of the advanced opponents of Socialism, and the Rev. Father Belford, a noted Roman Catholic Priest of Brooklyn, attacked it. Indeed, so representative were the men that it is

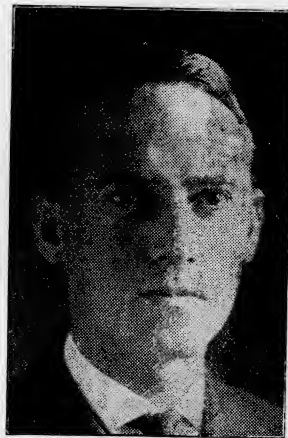


Professor Frederick M. Davenport
(Courtesy Brooklyn Eagle)

reported that practically every priest in Brooklyn advised his flocks to attend and see Socialism demolished.

Father John L. Belford is the pastor of the Church of the

Nativity, in Brooklyn. He is editor of the Nativity Mentor, the magazine that he made famous some four years ago by asserting in its pages that Socialists are the mad dogs of society, to be stopped, if need be, with a bullet. Later, he was among the first of the Catholic priests to come out openly in favor of suffrage for women. Catholics assert that he is one of their ablest champions.



PROF. SCOTT NEARING,
Formerly of University of Pennsylvania.

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weakness of his case. For he is thoroughly familiar with the Socialist theory and literature.

Professor Davenport is a Progressive in both the literal and political senses of the word; he is a liberal, he is a noted scholar and teacher, and he is a leading member of the Progressive Party, having been its candidate for Governor in 1914. As Professor of Law at Hamilton College, he has built up a national reputation.



MORRIS HILLQUIT

Scott Nearing is but thirty-two years old, but is better known as a scholar than many men of twice his age and experience. For the past nine years a university teacher at Pennsylvania and Swarthmore, he has written a series of brilliant books that have brought

home to masses of people the facts of economics in a way that they could understand. His radicalism is well known, and his adventures with reactionary boards of trustees are recent history. This debate was his first public appearance in New York, and in the eyes of a vast majority, he distinctly "made good."

Morris Hillquit is a Socialist war horse of nearly thirty years' service. He was born in 1870, and at eighteen, he flung himself into the movement with a devotion and an enthusiasm that has not flagged in all the years that have followed. Hillquit is a member of the National Committee of the United States, he is American representative on the International Socialist Bureau, he is National Chairman of the Socialist Party, he is the author of a number of standard Socialist works, he is a well-known debater on Socialism and kindred topics, and if the capitalist class could buy him, he would be cheap at any price. The Brooklyn Eagle was not far wrong when it called him the "king pin Socialist of America."

In every way, this debate can be considered one of the most notable that New York ever heard on Socialism. The debaters were men of the front rank. They were keyed up, and they did their best. The vast audience was thoroughly responsive to their speeches, and at times the interest reached the wildest enthusiasm, and when the debate was over, hundreds of people crowded the streets for hours and excitedly discussed the evening's entertainment, carrying the news of the keenest battle of wits in many a day all over Greater New York.

The Rand School and The Call are happy to put this intellectual treat in the reach of the hundreds of thousands who are interested in the subject, but who were unable to get into the hall.

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Chairman's Remarks

J. HERBERT LOW, (Chairman:) Ladies and gentlemen: The Institute hopes that the forum inaugurated tonight, the first to be held by the Department of Political Science and Sociology, will be looked upon as a privilege afforded to the members. We need it to clarify our ideas of modern problems, and it is wise to hear the side of a question for which we do not have sympathy. If the forum can help to make clear these problems, its service will be a great one. That it is wanted, there can be no doubt.

We are very glad to be able to offer at this debate men of such authority on the issue of the evening.

Incidentally, a number of you will want to argue the question after the debate is closed. Two minutes will be allowed you to frame your questions, and only two. Statements from the floor of the house cannot in fairness be allowed, because the members who have come here to-night have come to be informed on the question under debate by the speakers, and this purpose would be defeated if the subject were thrown to the floor of the house for discussion.

The debaters are ready to answer all legitimate questions. We will not do what forums have done in the past, give out slips of paper, and collect the questions in that way. Each questioner will state his or her own question. Each questioner will wait until recognized by the chair before putting the question, and we hope that you will do your share to make this plan a success to-night.

The question under debate is, "Resolved, that Socialism ought to prevail in the United States."

The speakers for the affirmative are, Dr. Scott Nearing, of Philadelphia (Applause) and Mr. Morris Hillquit, of New York. (Applause.) On the negative, are Reverend Father Belford, (Tremendous cheering) of Brooklyn, and Professor Frederick M. Davenport, of Hamilton College.

The speakers will be allowed 15 minutes each; on rebuttal, 10 minutes each; and the first speaker to address you this evening—

or before I mention his name I should state to you that Father Belford will treat the moral side of Socialism, Professor Davenport the economic and political sides, Professor Nearing, Socialism on the economic side, and Mr. Hillquit will take up the orthodox Socialism. The first speaker of the evening, Professor Scott Nearing. (Great applause.)

Professor Scott Nearing

The term Socialism as we will use it to-night means the collective or community ownership and management of the social tools of production,—the collective ownership and management of the social tools of production.

It does not make very much difference what people say: the essential thing is what they do. You will find, for example, in one of the chapters of Matthew, this saying: "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat: All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, *that* observe and do: but do not after their works: for they say, and do not."

I want to run over very briefly with you some of the things that have been happening that are rapidly making Socialism inevitable. In my estimation, the people who are making Socialism inevitable are the people who control deals like those now being revealed in the New Haven inquiry—the people who control our public and municipal utilities, our railroads, our iron and coal mines, our oil wells,—and who cannot control their own greed. These people are the people who are making Socialism as inevitable as it is.

We as a nation started out in this country over a century ago with the proposition that everybody had an equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. And we started with the proposition that the way to make people happy and cheerful was to give each a bit of land. The scheme worked admirably on the frontier, because there were two acres of land for every man who wanted land, and two tons of iron for every man who wanted iron, and two tons of coal for every man who wanted coal. The resources of the country were ample, just as at the present time the resources of the country are ample. The colonists, remember, were stretched in a narrow fringe down the Atlantic Coast. We said: "Give each of the children of men equal right to the use of the earth, and we will have equality of opportunity." We also said at that time, in our Constitutional convention, for example, that those things, those

functions of society which can best be performed by the individual should be left to the individual; whereas those functions of society that can best be performed by the community, should be left to the community.

I subscribe thoroughly to the dictum of Thomas Jefferson, that "that government governs best, which governs least"; provided you add to that dictum the statement that a sufficient amount of government must be provided to safeguard the welfare of the majority of the people in the community. We need not more government, but sufficient government. The first Constitutional convention put into the hands of the government the control of State affairs, because experience had shown that certain activities can be carried on better by the State, like the coining of money, the imposition of the tariff, and like community affairs, which cannot successfully be carried on under individual control. These things were put under Federal control on the general theory that community welfare comes first. Anything which is best carried on by the individual in terms of community welfare should be carried on by the individual. Anything which is best carried on by the government, again in furtherance of community welfare, should be put under the control of the government.

Now, I submit to you that these two propositions are still as valid as they were then. But circumstances have changed. We have used up our natural resources. There is no more good free land. The great natural resources are all in the possession of the coal and iron and steel and timber and other great interests. They have been labelled MINE—M-I-N-E—by some one who knows that the very system which in 1789 allowed the boy to buy a bit of land and develop it, and gave him thereby opportunity, by vesting the ownership of the land in the great corporations, denies to the boy born in 1915, the opportunities of the boy in 1789. Whereas in 1789 there were two acres of timber and coal for every one who needed them, in 1915 the choice bits of the earth's surface are pre-empted.

Those things best managed by the individual should be individually controlled. Those things best managed by the community should be communally controlled.

It is impossible in a very short discussion like this to go into much detail; but I should like to take you into this much detail, to illustrate the thing that has happened when great corporate interests have secured possession of the natural resources.

About fifty million people in the United States use hard coal—ten million families; and all of the important hard coal in the country is located in one little section of Pennsylvania. There are ten important railroads carrying hard coal out of that section. Ten groups of railroad interests control 90 per cent. of the unmined coal and nearly nine-tenths of the production each year. In other words, nine-tenths of the anthracite coal is in the hands of ten anthracite carrying railroads. There are certain legal provisions which prevent railroads from owning coal; but what is the constitution among vested interests? They own the lands just the same.

Up to 1898 while the railroads controlled those lands they never succeeded in making a sufficient combination—something entered in; some disturbing factor; some busy attorney general, or a devious railroad that broke things up.

In 1898 the railroads got things about the way they wanted them. Then the fun began. In 1898 the dividends paid by the anthracite railroads were small. It was a lean year. There had been a series of lean years since 1893. For 1900, the average dividend paid by the ten anthracite roads was 2 8-10th per cent. From 1900 to 1914 these interesting things happened:

The amount of stove coal which a consumer could purchase with ten dollars at New York moderate prices decreased one fifth—20 per cent. The wage rate of the anthracite miners decreased 21 per cent., and the dividend rate of the coal carriers increased about 260 per cent. (Laughter and Applause.)

In other words, given a great natural resource under the monopoly control of a powerful organization—in this case of railroads—given such a situation, the worker does not get sufficient to keep up with the rising cost of living. The producer, the profit-taker, has an increase in profits of hundreds of per cent. and the consumer pays the entire bill.

So true does this hold, that during the hostilities of 1912, when the miners got an increase of 5½ per cent., that wage increase added 9 cents to the price of a ton of coal. The railroads raised the price 25 cents a ton, and made 16 cents additional on the coal.

In 1914 dividends averaged 9 1-10 per cent. for each of the ten railroads. How long will the millions of people who need anthracite coal pay that kind of profits to railroads or any great financial interests that control them?

A piece of the earth's surface that was here before any of our railroad managers, or others ever were born, which according to equity and justice, as I understand it, ought to be the property of the whole American people. (Applause.)

I started out by saying it does not matter what people say, but what they do.

The anthracite carrying railroads have developed an economic situation where the worker does not get enough to keep up with the cost of living, while the profit takers get hundreds of per cent. You people, the consumers, foot the total bill.

That kind of a situation duplicated again and again makes it necessary to reapply the principle: Where an individual produces things best in an individual way, the individual should do it, but when the community is in danger, the community must step in and do the work collectively. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN: With the acquiescence of the other debaters, Father Belford will take twenty minutes for presentation, and five minutes for rebuttal. The Reverend Father Belford. (Tremendous cheering.)

Rev. Father Belford

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The reason that I asked for twenty minutes was because I was out of town when the arrangements were agreed upon; I thank my fellow-debaters for their courtesy in agreeing to the time that I have asked.

In an editorial on the Gary school system, *The Continent*, a secular publication, expresses this truth: "Neither this republic nor any other could long survive if the majority of the people ceased to be conscious that they are answerable to God for their conduct and the right discharge of their duties of life." This seems to be the conviction of those who vote an emphatic "no" to the proposition that Socialism is good. (Applause.)

Let us examine the notion of Socialism. There are many exponents and as many definitions. First of all, it is a plan to reorganize society. The basis of that reorganization is absolutely economic. The effect they seek is that all persons shall enjoy liberty and equality, collectively owning and utilizing the sources of wealth and means of distribution for the common good. In other words, it aims at the overthrow of the existing form of government and the establishment of a socialistic state which will own all of the mines and mills, the factories, the railroads, the telephones and telegraphs, and conduct them all for the benefit of the people. There shall be no male or female, bond or free, young or old, strong or weak, wise or foolish. The State will be supreme, and all members will be equal. It will own and employ all; it will provide for all. In it there will be no such things as competition, no poverty, and practically no crime.

To insure this, most of the existing laws must be swept away, and replaced by a new code that will rest on the economic basis that livelihood is the paramount object of life. It must necessarily

exclude things that are spiritual, for all materialistic Socialism denies the existence of everything except matter, or some mode or form of matter. Most of us believe that there is in man a spiritual soul, and any system that does not provide for the soul cannot bring about any improvement in the nation. The real life of man is in his senses and affections, and they are the functions of his spirit. If we are to change society, we must change the hearts of those who make up society.

Then Socialism brings forward the great remedy of State ownership. It denies the right of any one to own property, and to profit by the labor of others.

Now, nobody denies the existence of evils in the present system. They are many and great. Some are necessary evils; some are excusable; some are inexcusable. They are not intrinsic to private ownership. There are those which can be prevented, and which we are slowly and surely controlling and reducing, and which we hope some day entirely to eliminate.

When we ask the Socialist to tell us the details of his indictment, he usually begins with the inequality that prevails. Now, inequality is not confined to society. It exists even in nature. While we are all born equal, there are certain inequalities which can never be removed. We differ in height and strength as we differ in heart and mind. Some have the ability to teach, to plan, to prepare, while others go in to follow and learn. Our tastes and desires and aspirations are as various as the flowers that bloom in the garden.

Inequality is not altogether a curse. While undoubtedly it deprives some of the accidental goods of life, it has been the inspiration of a charity which has everywhere made noble spirits share their goods with the poor and lowly. (Applause and laughter.) It has nevertheless blessed the world with the gifts of personal service and produced sublime examples of patience and forbearance. Some of our useful institutions all over the country have done their best to mitigate, if they cannot entirely relieve, suffering. (Laughter.)

Vice and crime exist here as they exist everywhere, but they exist in spite of honest and sustained efforts to suppress them.

Naturally they flow from our present law.

The greatest minds the times have ever seen have done their best to prevent man from abusing life and liberty. They have failed. Man has a free will. He can be taught and inspired, but no law can compel him to speak the truth and do justice. Social crimes are the accumulations of years of individual guilt. Our system is largely the fruit of public opinion, and the vast majority of the people of this country will have truth and justice and seek to make it prevail.

The cry of our age is reform, and the trend is toward betterment. Conditions are better than they were a generation ago, and the next generation will be better than this.

Excelsior is the watchword of our own state and the heart cry of America. Education, organization, public conscience and last of all, and most of all, the only power that can mold the heart, religion. Religion has been doing its best to check privation and eliminate vice.

We are told that the great source of vice and crime is private ownership. To it they trace vice, poverty and crime. The remedy they propose is collective ownership. They have never proved that the remedy is efficacious. It has been tried on a small scale time and time again in our generation and in generations long since passed, and has always failed. Surely if a few well-meaning persons cannot work out the problem in a small community, we have little reason to believe that it can succeed in a nation of one hundred million.

Why don't they try it in some single state, Kansas, for example? There is nothing like demonstration. If they can furnish one grain of proof it will do more to convince the world than any arguments.

Various attempts have failed, because the colonists were poor, or the land was unfertile. These communities were not any worse off than those who broke ground at Jamestown and Plymouth. They have lived and have prospered.

The states in which the best conditions prevail are those where most of the people own their own land. Ownership of land is an incentive to progress. Our legislation is based upon it. Man loves to say, "This is my home, my farm." The thought of his own efforts to perfect it is a source of pride.

Some Socialists will say it is all right for a man to own a modest home, and a reasonable amount of help is permitted him. They will not allow a man to hire help or profit by the labor of others. They tell us the product belongs to the producer. The man who profits by the labor of others is a thief and a robber. (Applause.)

Here we come to their theory of surplus value. Dr. Davenport will take care of that. Sufficient to say that theory does not stand examination.

The farmer profits by the labor of the laborer. Say he pays him \$2. Through his work the farmer makes \$5. Surely the laborer does not produce all of the \$7. Does not the land do something? the seeds? the tools? the fertilizer? the rain and sunshine and knowing how, and all the others? (Applause.)

Now that owner is not a robber. He shares with the field laborer the product of his farm. He gives him a chance to earn his daily bread. They will tell us the farmer does not pay him a sufficient wage. If he does not do it it is the duty of the State to force him to do so.

Paying the laborer less than he deserves is a crime that cries to heaven for vengeance.

Human nature is greedy. There is an instinct in us to get all we can for as little as possible. The hunger for bargains is older than department stores. Stealing and cheating are as old as humanity. Socialism cannot cure them. Law and religion have failed. (Applause and laughter.)

That seems to make such an impression upon you that I will repeat it. Law and religion has made no pretense of stopping stealing and cheating. They never have done it and never will.

Wheat and weeds are growing in every field, and the wisest of

teachers has advised us not to pull up the weeds lest we kill the wheat.

The right to the ownership of that which he has fairly received as wages, the right to keep it or give it away, is what distinguishes man from animals. Man has reason, animal has only instinct. Man provides for the future, and lives in that future, and makes provision for it.

But what is Socialism going to give us? It takes account of nothing but matter. It takes care of the perishing body and trains the mind, but it has no regard for any and every of his inner needs and motives—the real life of human nature. (Applause.) His inner life motives are of far more value than the uses and needs of his body.

The home is the great social unity. Socialism destroys it. Socialism tells us that marriage is only a very temporary arrangement, which should last only as long as love lasts; and when love dies, the compact is dissolved. An example of the creed was given us the other day in New York. Things are bad enough now, and what would they be if we repeal the laws and allow men to follow their whims and caprices? (Applause.)

The American Socialist Party platform demands the education of all children under eighteen years, and State and municipal laws for the enforcement of this policy. Socialism will take the child from its parents and raise it scientifically, in the State school and gymnasium; and produce the splendid animalism of Sparta and Greece. This would kill the fairest flowers that we have, mother love and filial devotion.

Now, just as the product belongs to the producer, so do children belong to their parents, and they have every right to bring them up according to their own conscience.

Character is the effect of three forces, heredity, education, and environment. Education involves the mind as well as the soul and body. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN: The second on the affirmative, Mr. Hillquit.

Morris Hillquit

Ladies and Gentlemen: Incidentally it might be well to remember that the subject of to-night's discussion is: Resolved, that Socialism ought to prevail in the United States. By way of diversion I shall try to address myself to that subject. (Laughter and applause.)

Socialism ought to prevail in the United States. It ought to prevail all over the world. (Applause.) It ought to prevail particularly in the United States for this reason:

If the people of this country are proud of anything in their institutions it is their democracy, and democracy is not and can not be complete without Socialism. (Applause.) What we call democracy is the equal right of all to administer their common affairs. We do have a certain semblance of political democracy. We all—that is all sovereign male beings, at least, have a voice in the making of our laws and institutions, our political destinies.

But in the more important side of our existence, the industrial side; in the task of sustaining the lives of the one hundred million human beings who people this country, we allow an oligarchy, a small group of individuals, much less than one per cent. of the entire population, to control all the rest of us and to say how and whether we shall work and live.

We have in the United States to-day at the utmost, one-half of political democracy. The other half we shall attain when the men will consent to enfranchise the women of this country. We have absolutely no industrial democracy. Consequently, we are only about one-fourth democratic.

The Socialists say that there can not be such a thing as partial democracy and partial aristocracy. We can not be half slave and half free. This nation will have to choose between democracy and despotism.

Take the condition of this country. It occupies an area of

about three million square miles, almost as much as that of all continental Europe. It is one of the most fertile parts of the world, abounding in every kind of natural wealth and resources. One hundred million people inhabit it, a good third of them capable of producing wealth, of making the things which they need for their own lives. And we have highly developed industries with a veritable network of railroads, telephones and telegraphs, and marvelous machinery of toil. We can produce to-day with them one hundred times as much as our grandfathers could without them. There ought to be ample wealth in this country to sustain the last one of us in decent comfort.

But what do we see instead? A disappearingly small portion of the population owns the country. The vast majority live in dread of the morrow, have not enough to sustain their lives from day to day. Why? Because the great country does not belong to people of the United States. The country with all the soil and all the wealth on it belongs to a small group of individuals as their exclusive and private property. The land upon which you stand, you tread by the permission of your landlord. The food you eat, you get by permission of the trusts. The work that you do, you do by permission of the "owners" of the land, mines, mills and factories.

In short, the people of the United States do not depend upon themselves for the right to live and enjoy what they produce, but upon a small coterie of their own number. That is what we call an industrial oligarchy. That is what Socialism would abolish. (Applause.)

Socialism stands for the collective ownership of the social instruments of production, as Professor Nearing has stated. What does that mean?

When the Socialists repeat the popular slogan, America for the Americans, they mean *all* Americans. Is there anything heretic in that? When we speak of public ownership or collective ownership, we do not mean what Dr. Belford thinks we mean. We do not mean that the State is to be the one big employer, assigning

to each of us a job, and fixing such wages as it may please. There are some industries that might well be managed by the national government even now, such as railroads, telephones, telegraphs, mines and industries that have already attained national dimensions, such as the steel works.

Some industries, on the other hand, the municipalities could best operate, some, the co-operative societies, and there are others that individuals only can operate, such as the various arts and crafts. The point is not so much who operate the industries. We object to the power of any person to control the labor of another person, to the right of one individual to amass fortunes at the expense of others.

Father Belford says, Why, that is a sacred right, a "human right." He tells you about the farmer who employs a farm hand, paying him Two Dollars, and "making" Five Dollars for himself. "And," queries Father Belford, "Does not nature contribute to the production of the other five? Does not the soil do something? And how about the sunshine, the air and all other bounties of nature?"

True! But does Father Belford contend that God has created his sunshine for the farmer and not for the farm hand? (Loud and continued applause and laughter.)

There is another reason why Father Belford's little illustration is interesting. Whenever our opponents set about to demolish Socialism they talk about the hard working farmer. (Laughter.) What about Rockefeller, who does not know where some of his vast property is located, or where his money comes from, but makes thousands of men work for him and surrender to him the fruit of their toil? What about the railroad magnate who hires hundreds or thousands of men and who often has never so much as examined the operations of his road?

"The right to profits and property is sacred because the intelligent human being foresees the future and stores away wealth for his offspring," says Father Belford. I would have no objection. I'd store away all the property I could for my children, because I love my children.

But you might object to my providing for my children at the expense of yours, and that is precisely what the affectionate capitalist father does to-day. Father Belford says Socialism will abolish all possible inequalities, including those between the wise and the foolish; even we Socialists do not dare to hope for that. (Applause.)

We do not expect to abolish inequalities. We expect to introduce some new inequalities. We have too many equalities now. Come into the factories, the mines and mills, where hundreds of thousands of workers are living alike, working alike, dressing alike, talking alike and thinking alike, and you will have a picture of that dread and dreary equality of misery which characterizes a great portion of modern society.

And then we are asked, Why not try Socialism in sections to-day? Try Socialism to-day! Try the Twenty-first Century to-day; give us a sample of the Kingdom of Heaven here and now; give us Heaven in installments.

We can not introduce the future by sections.

And then Father Belford assures us that Socialism will not abolish crime. He says law has failed and religion has failed to abolish crime. With that admission, might it not be a fair experiment to let Socialism try a hand at it? (Laughter and applause.) If religion has failed, if law has failed, shall we therefore resign ourselves to a world of everlasting crime and vice, or shall we try some remedy that at least has not yet failed? Now, why has religion failed to check crime, and why have laws failed to check crime?

If you leave this hall to-night and are hungry, and have starving children waiting for you at home; if you pass by your neighbor, who has a superfluity of everything you need to sustain your very life and the lives of our beloved, you may resist temptation once, and you may resist it the second time, but at last your hunger will compel you to take the food that your body craves for. When people are starving they are not accessible to bare command of the law or to abstract canons of morality and religion. A ser-

mon on the evil of stealing will not deter a starving man from taking food wherever he can find it. Passing a law will not deter you. But if you are given bread, you will not steal! (Applause.) The error of law and of religion has been in that they have always attempted to eradicate crime and vice without changing the conditions which inevitably breed them. Socialism alone attempts to abolish crime by wiping out poverty, the mother of all crime. (Applause.)

We do not claim perfection under Socialism. There is no such thing as absolute perfection. We do not care for it. It would be a monotonous, tedious world to live in if everything were perfect. (Laughter.) But we do say we are better off to-day than we were fifty years ago; we should be a great deal better off in twenty-five years than we are to-day, and that the ever continuing and growing process of betterment makes for the establishment of the most humane form of social life which we can conceive to-day—Socialism. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN: The second speaker on the negative, Professor Davenport.

Professor Davenport

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Father Belford proposes a pretty bad state in which to try out Socialism. Kansas is a dry state and it would be pretty tough to try it out where there would be no chance to drown sorrow and disappointment when Socialism did not work.

Every state exists for the development of the greatest possible amount of welfare and freedom and happiness for the individual. In every state, Socialism and individualism are complements of one another. Every state must have a certain amount of Socialism, for its post-offices, its lighthouses, for example. The only question is as to whether Socialism in any country shall be dominant and controlling in volume and power.

We are talking about Socialism in the United States, which has had from the beginning vast resources, vast opportunities for individual freedom, individual ownership, individual ambition. The genius of the American people has been to have as little government as possible, but we have learned in the last generation the need for a much wider extension of governmental function than was formerly thought necessary or desirable.

I am here to argue that Socialism ought not to prevail in the United States. I hold that it ought not to prevail first, because the tendency of it would be to destroy the political promise of American life. Socialism would take land out of the field of private ownership. Now one of the most conspicuous successes of our progress has been the homestead policy of the United States, by which millions of individual owners have been given a property stake in the land in the Middle and Far West. This has resulted in a great development in those sections of independence of character, and a sense of freedom and right. The West has been the vital center of what has been worth while in our political democ-

racy. Out of the West has come the movement against the political machines and against railway and trust and tariff autocracy and privilege. The West is full of the spirit of the common good, and it is spreading out of the West all through the country. With a proper distribution of immigration on the part of the national government, there is room for millions more sturdy, independent owners of small farms, cultivated on the intensive plan. And the result will be further increase of democracy in line with the genius of the American people.

Socialism would destroy the political promise of American life also by overloading our political democracy. Our state governments already are breaking down on the side of efficiency, economy and responsibility. The government at Washington is weak in the same direction. I am as good a democrat as anybody, but I recognize the limitations of democracy, and I don't wish to see it cave in because of the imposing of too great burdens upon it. Government has broken down already in many of our commonwealths and the real rulers of society are not the representatives of the people.

Then along comes Socialism and wishes to pour upon government, upon Congress, upon bureaus, upon managers, that we may elect, the infinitely more complex economic and financial responsibilities and duties which go with the machinery of production in the United States—vast natural monopoly, public utilities, mines, factories, the larger workshops, the land—directive ability, the saving of capital, the fixing of prices, the fixing of wages—to pour all this upon the state and ask American democracy to make it all work better than under private ownership, initiative and direction.

Socialism would also have a tendency to destroy the social promise of American life. We have had a great deal of fierce, brutal competition in this country, but there is also a mass of altruism here and a desire to make this the best, the happiest, and the most prosperous country in the world. America wishes to stand for brotherhood.

And along comes Socialism with its doctrine of the class struggle and the social revolution. I understand that Socialism did not originate the class struggle. I understand that not all Socialists are syndicalists or I. W. W.'s. I understand that many Socialists believe that violence is at least not expedient. But the attitude of mind of Socialism towards class warfare as the way out into social revolution and millennium, is conducive in the highest degree to antagonisms and frictions and hatreds which bid fair, if not checked, to blight the social promise of American life.

The mind of the United States is now set against the class struggle. We are beginning to see how much we lack social cohesion. Out in San Francisco, there are no citizens of San Francisco. They are only citizens of the labor class, or citizens of the capitalist class. There are no citizens of the state of Colorado for the same reason. I know about the fierce brutality on both sides of the labor war in that state, and young John D. Rockefeller's scheme of an industrial republic is far from complete. But the spirit shown in the last month of conciliation and humanity and brotherhood has far more of the social promise of American life in it than all the class struggle and class warfare and class friction upon which Socialism depends.

Socialism would also destroy the economic promise of American life. I am not belittling the evils of the present economic system. But on the side of production, if not yet on the side of distribution, America has been the most successful country in the world. Our managers of production have been trained in the hard schools of experience, by natural selection under free competition, and have represented the survival of the fittest. Our improvements and inventions have made possible a great surplus of saving, to become the capital of new enterprises. Our labor has not been as free in many fields as it ought to be, but through collective bargaining, through the action of government, as the result of vast economic prosperity, there has not been increasing misery, but on the whole increasing welfare.

And then along comes Socialism and proposes to elect by popular vote our directive ability in industry, with a laurel wreath instead of pecuniary profit to satisfy ambition. Technical mastery and skill cannot be selected by mass voting or by the political insight of bureaucrats. (Great applause.)

CHAIRMAN: In rebuttal on the affirmative, Professor Nearing.

Professor Scott Nearing

John D. Rockefeller, Junior—The social promise of American life! (Laughter and applause.)

The only social promise that the American people ask is the opportunity to make their living. (Applause.) Professor Davenport seems strangely addicted to the soil. He says that we have put individual men on the land, and given them a stake in the land, and that they are now the promise of American life. We put them on that land, and gave them a stake in the land. Well, what next? He says, send out more men. Where? At the present time in Texas, in certain counties, 55 per cent. of the people who run the land are tenants. Now put another million farmers into Texas, and you may raise the percentage to seventy-five.

However, I very much prefer to come back to New York. (Laughter.)

How about New York? Professor Davenport says that the government is breaking down under the strain. What strain? The strain of the Rockefeller millions is breaking down democracy. (Applause.) That is the strain that is breaking down democracy: the strain of too much wealth and power, vested in irresponsible private hands. That is the strain to which Mr. Davenport should turn his attention. The strain to which the government has been subject is the strain of private ownership of the municipal and public utilities of the nation. (Continued applause.)

Dr. Belford says that law and religion have failed. I should not have cared to go that far. He says that Socialists hold out a bunch of promises and prophecies. Has he no promises and prophecies? I thought that of all men the minister with the Bible in his hand should be the man with promises and prophecies, because nowhere else under the face of heaven do we have so many promises and prophecies as we have in our Christian Bible. (Ap-

plause.) Promises and prophecies must be a part of our religion and education.

It is in the name of promises and prophecies that every forward looking man speaks his mind.

Then, Dr. Belford says, is not the real life of man interior? Yes. He says that when the welfare of the soul is not safeguarded, man will perish. Yes. The real life of man is interior.

I have been reading a description of the lives of the men they call the muckers, the men that are digging the Subway under your streets. It tells of a man going up in a garret in one of the New York tenements, and having the bolt drawn back by a little boy of ten. The dining room, parlor and kitchen were all one room.

"Where is your mother?" was asked.

"She is cleaning downtown," came the reply.

Then he told how the baby was at the nursery; his father earned \$1.50 a day as a mucker.

If this man works steadily at \$1.50 a day, it means \$468 a year. And your social experts tell you that in the city of New York, a man with a wife and three small children cannot do it on less than \$840. Four hundred and sixty-eight dollars to keep that man, wife and three babies—in the interior life. (Applause.)

I tell you, Dr. Belford, that the thing that has made the interior life is the wage conditions that are provided by American industry for the people that do America's work. You go through her factories right here in New York. Never mind Kansas, never mind the west.

Sweep your own dirty backyard clean. (Applause.) Right here in New York the men that are doing your work in the subway are now getting \$1.60, because they could not get men at \$1.50. Think of it, working down in the ground for \$468 a year. And you cannot keep a family decently on less than \$840 in New York.

You talk about destroying the home. If this present system lasts long enough there won't be any homes for Socialism to destroy. (Applause.)

As I said in the beginning, I am not a Socialist, I am not a

member of the Socialist party, but a student of economics. Looking at your problems; there are the monopolies owned by a few on the one hand, and on the other, millions of people that are doing your work, paid a wage that won't keep body and soul together. That is what keeps the ten year old children in the house, and the two year old children in the nurseries. That is the very thing that will bring Socialism.

Say the man is sent to the hospital. The children are then thrown on the care of the community and the neighborhood. Socialism? You don't need Socialism to destroy the home. The home is destroyed. And what has done it? The thing that does it is the low wage.

Who stands for this condition? American private industries.

We have private industry in New York controlling the resources which are for all, controlling the capital, and exploiting the laborers out of millions annually. The property owners take some eight thousand million dollars a year for their property ownership, because they own property.

Socialism does not promise everything. Neither does capitalism. But if law and religion have failed, Socialism comes forward with its remedies and promises.

One of these promises is a democratic life given when every child born in the city of New York shall have an equal opportunity with the boy and girl neighbors to show what his capacities and talents really are, and only when that time really comes will democracy be here. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN: The first speaker on the negative, in rebuttal, the Rev. Father Belford.

Father Belford

The difference between Mr. Hillquit and myself is this: Mr. Hillquit appealed to passion, and I appealed to reason. (Laughter.)

The difference between Professor Nearing and Mr. Hillquit and myself, the differences that we have had on this point, are logical to a very great degree. There is a great deal in logic. I laid down general principles. Against them they have alleged particular facts. (Laughter.) I know the abuses of capitalism. Didn't I say that there are abuses in capitalism? (Laughter.)

Didn't I say that we are trying our best to make them right? What are you people doing? Why don't you change the men that make your laws? Why is it that every two or four years we force out a particular political administration? Because we are dissatisfied with them, because they have not ameliorated conditions.

That is American government for you. That is our American system. When they speak about the home, they point to a particular home. I point to the fact that Socialism would break up the home. I point to the further fact that Socialism is irreligious. Does not Mr. Hillquit tell us, does he deny that he has told us, that 99 per cent. of Socialists land in agnosticism? (Applause.)

I say that if you want to make man right you will have to begin on the inside. The curse of America is not capitalism; the curse of America is irreligion. Only 60 per cent. belong to any church, or have any religion, and of the 60 per cent., 50 per cent. are a disgrace to any church. (Laughter and applause.) The 10 per cent. are the salt of the earth, and they are making conditions better than they found them. Conditions are improving right along because of this church-going 10 per cent., and they are going to be better still, and it won't be because of Socialism.

The point is this: Socialism denies the right of private ownership. That is a right that is fundamental in nature and in the

American system, and it is up to them to overthrow it. It is up to them to show us why it is wrong.

Take the men that are blowing the horn of Socialism. Who are they, as a rule? I say this without meaning to offend any one. Are they not a lot of foreigners? (Hisses, applause, and laughter.) I am not referring to Mr. Hillquit (laughter), but you know that this is true. (Hisses.) I say Socialism is not good for the government of the United States (hisses), and I say it is not good for this reason: It is un-American and it is irreligious: it denies the existence of a sovereign God, and it denies the existence of anything outside of matter or some form of matter. They have thrown religion overboard.

I believe in prophecy, and I believe in promises. But we are talking about a particular kind of prophecy and a particular kind of promises. I believe in prophecy by some one who has credentials. (Laughter.) If you think that over you won't laugh at it. (Loud and continued laughter and applause.)

CHAIRMAN: The second speaker on the affirmative, Mr. Hillquit.

Mr. Hillquit

Under a system of Socialism every debater will be given five hours for his main speech and three hours for his rebuttal. (Laughter.) It is rather difficult to answer in ten minutes the two speakers on the negative side.

I will take up only the most salient points, and that very briefly. First, Dr. Belford asserts that I have made the statement that 99 per cent. of the Socialists are agnostics. He says I have never denied having made that statement. To satisfy him I now and hereby, and in the presence of Dr. Belford, do make solemn denial.

I have never said that 99 per cent. of the Socialists are agnostics, or that any definite proportion of them are agnostic. I don't know any more the percentage of Socialist agnostics than that of the Republican or Democratic agnostics. (Laughter.)

What forms the slim foundation of this assertion is this: In a national convention of the Socialist Party a certain proposed plank in the platform was under discussion. It was to the effect that the Socialist movement is a social and economic movement and is not concerned with matters of religion. When some opposition was raised to this plank, I said in support of it that Socialism as such had nothing to do with religion, and even if 99 per cent. of the Socialists were agnostic that would not make Socialism agnostic.

All my good friends of the Catholic church have done is to eliminate the "if" and the conclusion. The rest they quote verbatim. (Tremendous cheering.)

Second. Although Dr. Belford did not include present company (Laughter), he did assert that the majority of Socialists in this country were foreigners, and that observation was not intended to redound to the credit of the movement.

A great many things have come from foreign countries, Father Belford, which have added to the progress and happiness of this country. It is the interchange of ideas, attainments and men between the countries of the world that makes for intellectual growth.

I will say, however, for the information of those who may need it, that as it happens the Socialist movement in this country has a larger percentage of native born Americans than the Republican or Democratic parties can boast of. (Applause.)

I may also call your attention to another thing. The Englishmen who are foreign here are native subjects in England, the Germans who are foreigners here are native subjects in Germany. They have few foreigners in the countries of Europe, yet there is a Socialist movement in every advanced European country. In fact, there is not a civilized country in the world that has not a Socialist movement. The strength of the Socialist movement in each given country is a pretty reliable test of the degree of civilization in that country. (Applause.) American Socialism, like European Socialism, is the product of modern social and economic conditions. Neither the foreigners nor the natives are responsible for its inception, nor can they check its growth.

That much for Father Belford, and now let me try to answer a few objections of Professor Davenport. With him the trouble seems to be that he has evolved a certain plan of social progress, all his own, a beautiful and harmonious scheme, but along comes Socialism (Laughter) without credentials, mind you, (Laughter) and inconsiderately interferes with it.

First, it destroys the political promise of American life. Professor Davenport admits that our political democracy is not perfect; as a matter of fact it is a sham democracy. Not because we haven't got the short ballot or any of the other nostrums advocated by the Professor, but because our legislators, those whom Father Belford wishes to turn out, our executive officials in a vast number of cases, are directly or indirectly subservient to capitalist interests. They are in office to support the present economic system. Politics is nothing but a branch of the capitalist's business.

The great corporations, for instance, want franchises, privileges

and "protection." To get them they must dominate our political institutions and corrupt our public officials. Under Socialism there will be no private production for profit, hence no inducement to political corruption. "Along comes Socialism, and spoils the political life of America." (Laughter and applause.)

And then Socialism would spoil the social promise of America. Socialism is so very impolite. What would you expect of a movement based on class struggle. It is bad manners to talk about the class struggle. (Applause.)

Professor Davenport admits the existence of continuous strife between capitalists and workers. In California and Colorado it is very acute just now. Here and elsewhere it may be working under the surface, but it is with us all the time. While the capitalists own the means of wealth production, and the workers must come to them for permission to work and to live, there will be struggle between them. But Professor Davenport wants us to forget the unpleasant thing. Let us try to be polite and friendly as John D. Rockefeller, Jr. was when he visited his Colorado mine workers. (Laughter.)

We Socialists take this position. The class struggle exists. It must be eradicated. We will eradicate it.

It is suggested by our opponents that we close our eyes to the class struggle. What would you think of a physician who is consulted about an epidemic of typhoid fever; who knows that the dread disease is caused by a polluted stream, and says, "Oh, let us not speak of impurities. Let us think of all streams as clear and wholesome." (Laughter.)

That is what the polite apologists of the capitalist system would have us do. Forget the social malady. Forget the class struggle, and it will disappear by a miracle of Christian Science. (Laughter.)

The Socialists look the class struggle straight in the face. They are organized for the purpose of changing the present order with all its iniquities and social struggles.

Along comes Socialism and destroys the social promise of America. (Much laughter and applause.)

CHAIRMAN: The final speaker in rebuttal on the negative, Professor Davenport.

Professor Davenport

Mr. Hillquit has said that democracy will not be complete without Socialism. I say that substantial democracy will be complete without it. Democracy does not mean perfect equality. The only kind of equality which we are absolutely sure of in this world is the equality of suffering, as Abraham Lincoln said. Mr. Hillquit has said that we of the negative desire to forget the class struggle. No, I wish every man to have the vision of it before him. But to work in accordance with that spirit and that method which will bring brotherhood and not strife in America. I commended young Mr. Rockefeller because he seemed to have for the first time in his life, during his trip in Colorado, the vision of the struggle, and the beginning of a vision of how to stop it.

Socialism falls down at the point of human nature, which it does not seem to understand. The evils and the wrongs of the present industrial system we must do away with. But the incentive and discipline of the present industrial system is of real advantage to human nature. A big proportion of us sit as still as we dare to be, and a very large majority of us would never exercise the quality of saving if we could help it. We haven't yet learned as a nation to exercise ordinary political control over ourselves. We are still too often carried by our emotions, and our racial and religious and economic prejudices. We make many indiscriminating judgments, and allow our bravest leaders to be maligned, and refuse to honor our finest fighters until after they are dead.

Just because we recognize the natural limitations of mass democracy, we do not wish to overload it with too much responsibility. The simple questions of right and wrong can be settled by the whole people better than by any portion of it. I believe in substantial political democracy. Upon fundamental policies, I would pit the instinct, the courage, the common sense, and the conscience

of the mass of the people against all the genius of benevolent despots and aristocrats of the world.

But we must not proceed by revolution and overload governmental democracy with the vast and intricate problems of economic production and distribution. Let us proceed by evolution, and not by revolution. Let us go ahead with our present day program of taxing land values, of inheritance and income taxes, of social welfare legislation, of control over industrial organizations, of wages dividends, of a share for the workers in the ownership of the tools of production, but let us leave the directive ability to be selected in the old way, the capital to be saved by the individual in the old way. Let us encourage labor to work out its freedom and welfare through collective bargaining, and the other measures of organized activity. We need only Socialism enough so that we may be sure that power is under the hat of the state. We should not wish to overload democracy with Socialism. (Applause.)

Following the Debate

Following the debate, there was a keen discussion on the part of the audience and the speakers. Questions were volleyed at the debaters, and the greatest interest was displayed on the part of the audience. When the discussion was getting to be most interesting, some member of the Institute proposed a vote of thanks, and the audience dispersed.

One gentleman wanted to know from Dr. Belford, that if religion had been trying for two thousand years to stamp out vice and crime, and had not succeeded, how much longer did it want. Dr. Belford replied that he believed that the question was asked in a spirit of hate, and that therefore he would not answer.

The following account of some of the questions is from the Brooklyn Daily Eagle of October 22d:

"Then came the questions, and first a woman arose and attempted to read a lengthy question. When she had thirty seconds of her two minutes left, she suddenly blurted out that Socialism had been tried in Sparta and failed.

"Mr. Hillquit answered that by stating that there was no Socialism in Sparta, so far as he knew.

"A young man then arose and tried to get Father Belford to define a foreigner, but the priest refused.

"This is a debate on Socialism,' interrupted Chairman Low, 'and I shall have to rule that question out of order.'

"Another person arose in the gallery and wished to know what guarantee there was that if the Socialists got into power there would not be just as many grafters among them as there are in the old parties.

"There would be no one to offer graft to them,' replied Mr. Hillquit.

"Then a woman stood up, far back in the gallery, and, with a worried look, wanted to know who would mine the coal if the Socialists were in.

"I would do it for the lady if the compensation was

proper,' said Mr. Hillquit. 'Under Socialism, mining can be made perfectly attractive. Then, perhaps, you and I can do a little mining together.'

"There were several other questions, most of them fired at Father Belford, and one from the young man who asked him to define a foreigner. No response could be drawn from the priest."

Following the denial by Morris Hillquit that he had made the statement about 99 per cent. of Socialists landing in agnosticism, Dr. Belford wrote the Editor that he wanted to delete that statement from his speech. But as the statement had been made in the presence of several thousand people, it is only fair to include it, here with a note of the request of the speaker for its deletion.

WHAT THE RAND SCHOOL IS

The establishment of the Rand School in 1906 was made possible by an endowment provided, at the suggestion of Prof. George D. Herron, by the late Mrs. Carrie D. Rand, with a contributory fund added by her daughter, Mrs. Carrie Rand Herron, who showed a keen interest in its work till her untimely death early in 1914. The income from this fund is supplemented by tuition fees and by donations from individuals and organizations in sympathy with the purpose of the school.

This purpose, as originally stated and as since adhered to, is twofold: To offer to the public opportunities for the study of Socialism; and to offer to Socialists instruction on lines calculated to make them more efficient workers for the Cause.

The Rand School was at first a purely local institution, offering evening and Sunday classes in Economics, Sociology, History, and kindred subjects, and also in English and Public Speaking, for residents of New York City who wished to use to the best advantage in directed study such time as they could spare from their bread winning occupations. Some attended but one session a week, some two, three, or even four. Many came year after year to study different subjects. The sexes were at all times about equally represented in the student body. The majority were mechanics, factory operatives, and office workers, with a sprinkling of school teachers, housewives, professional persons, and others. From forty to sixty per cent. were members of the Socialist Party at the time of their entry, and many of the others joined the party organization during or after their term at the School. Year by year the number of individuals attending such classes at the central building in Nineteenth Street has varied between 200 and 450, and the aggregate for the nine years runs well above 2,500. But these constitute only a fraction of the whole body of Rand School students.

It soon became evident that the work of the School should not and could not be kept within such narrow limits. Ex-

tension classes were formed from time to time in outlying parts of the city and in neighboring counties of New York and New Jersey, and in 1913 an autonomous branch was established in the East Side. The number of persons who have attended branch classes is at least equal to those who have studied at the central school.

As the work of the Rand School became known through the country, requests for a further extension of its services came from the most distant places. At the same time arose the question of providing for persons who wished for more thorough and advanced training than could be given in evening classes. The financial difficulties under which the School labors made it a serious problem to meet these new demands. This problem has been solved along two lines.

In 1911 the Rand School inaugurated its Full-Time Course, for comrades who could arrange to devote themselves wholly to intensive study for a term of six months. In the four years that have since gone by, sixty-one persons have entered this course.

In 1913 after some experimental attempts, the Rand School definitely launched its Correspondence Department, which met with a warm welcome. Up to the present time correspondence courses have been taken up by about 3,600 persons. The National Executive Committee has formally endorsed this work and advised locals to form study classes, and several State Secretaries have spoken in warm terms of the service rendered by such classes in strengthening the party organization.

An important new department is being organized, which has a double function—to investigate problems of vital interest to the Socialist and Labor Movement and present the data and conclusions in such form as to be of practical use to editors, lecturers, committees, and public officials; and at the same time to instruct and train a group of young men and women in the technique of original research, so that the development of the work may keep pace with the growing needs of the party and the unions.

The Rand School is controlled by the American Socialist Society, an incorporated body, which has always followed the policy of taking in only party members. The detailed administration is in the hands of an Executive Secretary and an Educational Director, chosen by and responsible to a Board of Directors, elected annually by the Society.

An idea seems to have got abroad that the Rand School is a richly endowed institution. Unfortunately, this is far from true. From the beginning its tasks and its expenses have been larger than could have been foreseen. They have grown from year to year, and they will go on growing. The income from the Rand Fund has never been sufficient to meet the needs. This fund, moreover, is subject to diminution and ultimate extinguishment.

As it now stands, in order to go forward without fear, the Rand School ought, in addition to the fluctuating and eventually diminishing income from the Rand Fund and the revenue derived from tuition fees, benefit entertainments, and book sales, to have the assurance of \$3,500 a year for its General Fund and at last \$2,000 a year for its Scholarship Fund, which is used in aiding desirable Full-Time students who are unable to pay their own way in full.

Single contributions or, better still, pledges of annual contributions to be paid at stated times will be warmly welcomed by the Executive Secretary, upon whom rests the daily responsibility of "keeping up the steam."

Thus, from small beginnings, the Rand School has steadily grown in response to the needs of the movement, until to-day it can fairly claim to rank as the Workers' University of the United States. Taking all departments into account, it has had more than two thousand students in the year 1914-15, and about ten thousand during the nine years of its existence. Its Directors feel, however, that only a start has been made. They intend to go on, as in the past, with a minimum of wordy promise and a maximum of solid achievement, confident that

honest and unpretentious service will bring the support necessary for further development.

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LOUIS B. BOUDIN	I. M. RUBINOW, Ph. D.
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AND OTHERS

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